1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



## 3

### *The Unity of the Antipodes*

In the preceding section the two antipodal elements of the Balinese cosmos were for clarity's sake set over against each other as separate entities. In reality, however, they cannot be conceived of as separate. They are complements, created to form one entity together. It is that completion, that unity of antipodes, which is constantly striven for.

This can be seen, for example, in the sacrificial feast before 'bringing the land to silence', Nyĕpi.[14] Sacrifices are made to demons at that time, but an altar is also erected for the sun god. Likewise, at the Galungan festival[15] offerings are made to the souls in the *kĕlod* sphere, but also to those in the *kaja* sphere; at the burial ground, but also in the household temple.[16] The festival might be described as an All Souls' Day on which one also celebrates All Saints'. In the temples the powers of both categories are combined in a single complex. The temple of Tĕrunyan, for example, has three parts, with one of them, the most *kaja*, called Pura Gunung Agung, and another, the most *kĕlod*, called Pura Maospait (probably equivalent to Majapahit), a name that belongs in the same category as the sea and the west.[17]

All this also implies that worship and exorcism are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. The *kĕlod* forces are undesirable: that is apparent from their classification in the category of death. But the world picture is inconceivable without them, just as inconceivable as life without death.

Preoccupation with the unity of life can also be detected in the folk tales regarding the Half One.[18] These tales cannot be viewed as myths in the technical sense of the word – as they can be in other places, where they appear to be considered among the initiation myths.[19] But there is no doubt that the motif has a significance on Bali in the connection under consideration here. This is confirmed by the tale's popularity, which is apparent from the fact that it exists in a number of versions. All the versions tell about a boy born with only half a body – often because his

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



181 mother has transgressed a taboo, has 'gone outside the order of
538 things'. His father is usually a supernatural being. When he has grown up, the Half One makes an attempt to become whole. He sets out to seek his fortune, and after having gone in an easterly or *kaja*-easterly direction and having climbed upward, all the while experiencing many adventures, he discovers his father or another divine figure (whose nature and function will be considered below).[20] The Half One explains to him his wish to become whole. Sometimes he also asks for instruction, for example regarding the proper rites for offerings in connection with farming. His wishes are granted, and he returns to earth as a whole person, resplendent with beauty, usually to find a lovely bride, and often also a kingdom.

181 In the same way that personal happiness is reserved only for the
812 complete person in the tale, all prosperity in this world is reserved solely for those who take both parts of the cosmos into consideration, seeking after a proper attitude towards both of them.

## 4

### *Tripartite Division*

772 The Balinese countryside lies closed in between the mountains and the sea. Between the upper and the nether world lies the *maŭyapada* or intermediate sphere, also called the *mŕtyapada*, the world of mortals. Between the gods and the demons is man. Between birth and death comes life.

The transition from a bipartite division to such a tripartite one is not clearcut. The intermediate element shares in both the extremes, and the two touch each other in that element. It can be viewed as dissolving into the two parts, in which case there is a bipartition, but it can also be given autonomy and a function of its own, in which case the bipartition becomes tripartition. Perhaps the difference may be described in this way: the bipartite division emphasizes only the cosmos while in the tripartite division the human element in the cosmos, the microcosmos within the macrocosmos, is also emphasized.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



177 538 But there is also another attitude, expressed for example by a descendant of one of the ruling families, a Balinese writer who had already achieved prominence before the war and who travelled in the Netherlands and India, owned a cinema, and took the initiative in establishing a public library and a private secondary school. He, if anyone, may be considered among the 'creative minority'. In his most recent novel[3] – written in Indonesian, like its predecessors – he poses the problem under consideration here. It appears in the form of a contrast between modern agnosticism and a belief in God. The novel describes the main character's path 'back to God', a path filled with romance, love, unhappiness, and heart-rending adventures. To combine the old and the new is apparently impossible for this figure: he finds God in Christianity, and at the end of the book becomes a Christian. Such a solution to the problem was to be expected from this author, who during the period of the Japanese occupation took the same step as his hero.

But alongside of the rather unrestrained main character the novel also depicts his elder brother, a sympathetic, level-headed figure whose name Widiada ('God exists') is symbolic of his religious attitude. As a modern man he is able to find contentment in a theosophically tinged faith in the existence of God and does not go so far as to break with tradition. It is he who advocates the ideas of religious tolerance the author cherishes, and – which is more difficult – puts them into practice when his younger brother comes to tell him that he has become a Christian. He can only be happy, he says to him, that someone who was 'without religion' has now become a follower of a 'religion with a God', the almighty, ever-present Creator who is also within man himself. In saying this he bases himself on a pantheistic passage from the *Upanisad* which he is busy translating at the time.

The motifs touched on here – an awareness of God, religious tolerance, and Hindu piety – can also be detected in other, differently oriented writings.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



793 A certain amount of knowledge of these doctrines is essential for
779 a proper understanding of any number of Balinese religious solem-
538 nities, and particularly of the ceremonial followed in cremation.
874 The function of the *naga-banda*, the intertwined serpents, in the cremation of royal members of the *ksatriya* caste, for example, is incomprehensible without a knowledge of Balinese views on the 'little world' and the path chosen by the soul on its last voyage.

These four groups of writings – *warigas*, *agamas*, *usadas*, and *weda-arga-tuturs* – together form one interrelated complex of theological literature.

A second complex of Balinese writings consists of several groups of works that might be considered as *belles lettres*. This complex is, however, by no means clearly demarcated from the first four groups. The initial group in the complex consists of the *parwas* of the *Mahābhārata*. However, six of the eighteen *parwas* – the *Aranyakaparwa*, the *Dronaparwa*, the *Karnaparwa*, the *Salyaparwa*, the *Gadaparwa*, and the *Aswatamaparwa*[3] – have not found their way to Bali, though their names are known.

The second group, which is also considered to belong to the *parwas*, comprises primarily more or less historical works such as the *pĕmĕnchangahs*, the *Usana Jawa*, the *Usana Bali*, the *Tantu Pagĕlaran*, *Chin Anggrok* (*Ken Arok*), *Asuasa*, *Eka Pĕrtama*, *Chambra Berawa*, and so forth.

The third group consists of the long series of Middle Javanese writings in *wirama* verse-form, among which the *Baratayuda* and the *Ramayana* occupy leading positions.

The fourth and fifth groups, the *kidungs* (old histories and fables) and *gĕguritans* (parables and satires, many of them in *tĕmbang* verse-form) are of subordinate importance for the candidate priest.

## 3

### *The Regimen*

793 After this brief survey of the sources from which the prospective priest acquires his knowledge, attention may be turned to the path of life which he is required to follow. An old text states in

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



yellow, and blue (or black), are the chief components of the sun's spectrum. The black colour in the north is considered as having taken the place of blue.

There is in this connection also another trace of earlier sun worship. Moving from east to west in the system of the eleven Rudras one encounters the manifestations of Siwa most closely linked to him: Iswara in the east, Siwa, Paramasiwa, and Sadasiwa in the centre, at the zenith, and at the nadir, and Mahadewa in the west. Hence the whole course which the sun seems to make around the earth falls under the dominion of Siwa.

A study of this element of the sun cult and the identification of Siwa with Surya on Bali would be rewarding. Here, however, I shall confine myself to pointing out the important rôle in the temple system played by the orientation to the east: in this connection reference may be made to the terraced pyramids of Sĕlulung, likewise facing east, and the high, common base for the altars in many temples, especially in northern Bali and on Nusa Pĕnida.

Moreover, the antithesis of *akasa* and *pĕrtiwi*, heaven and earth, with the sun as the symbol of the firmament, serves as the basis for Balinese popular religion. Both the *sanggar agung* and the lotus-seat may be dedicated either to Siwa or Surya, according to local custom. Among the motifs in the long offering carpets the sun recurs as an emblem quite as frequently as the *nini* and the *gunungan*. In the priestly religion the *suryasewana* plays an important rôle, as does also the parallel ritual *mĕsĕgĕh* which the Balinese housewife is expected to perform each day at dawn, high noon, and sunset.

It is also important to recall that in some parts of the *Bali-aga* area sun-worship has been integrated in the ancestor cult, so that in the *sanggah kĕmulan* Surya forms a trinity together with the male and female ancestors. It is moreover characteristic that the ruler is often said to be 'like the sun that illumes the earth'.

Goslings mentions a passage from the *Usana Bali* in which it is stated that a monk from Majapahit who had gained the favour of the gods by asceticism was the founder of the oldest of the six

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



538 771 leading temples (*sadkayangan*) of Bali, the sanctuary of Bĕsakih at the southern foot of Gunung Agung. The legend goes on to relate that Siwa, in his manifestation as Batara Guru, descended for a visit to the temple, followed by 'the gods of all the directions'. The 'gods of all the directions' is a reference to the eight guardians, and the specific link with Batara Guru suggests a certain relationship with ancestor worship. The tie between Majapahit and the largest state sanctuary on Bali, the symbol of the unity of the land, is also significant.

771 643 Seen against this background the *nawa-sanga* acquires more meaning as a royal emblem or attribute. Phenomenologically the ruler is viewed as the receptacle of divine power on earth: he is not only the representative of the deity but an incarnation, especially of Wisnu, while with respect to the realm over which he is placed he is the maintainer of the cosmic order, and as such the *lingga* of the world. As the *lingga* of the world he appears in the aspect of Siwa on earth, and just as Siwa is the centre from which the eight guardians of the directions emanate, in the same way the ruler is the centre from which the secular power in its various aspects of rule and administration emanates.

181 643 It is within the framework of this pattern of thought that one must consider the fact that in 1947 the federal state of East Indonesia adopted the *nawa-sanga* as the emblem for its presidential flag, while on Bali the black-white-and-red, symbolic of the trinity, is used for the flags on the automobiles of the autonomous princes. In the context in which they are used, both symbols express the same thing: the authority which maintains order and makes itself felt from the centre to the periphery. In this context the trinity is considered as an abbreviated form of the *nawa-sanga* representing in it the line from north (Wisnu) over east (Iswara) to south (Brahma).

792 769 643 After this long digression let us return to the *chandis* in Pura Taman Ayun. We have already seen that there is a connection between the *chandi* (sometimes also called *prasada* or *lingga*) and the royal ancestor cult given expression in the *paibon*. After the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



the matter became clear. Some people, in fact, forecast the extinction of the fervour on other grounds. 527

## 3

### *The Metamorphosis of Jayaprana*

No one has disputed Kaliangĕt's proprietary rights to Jayaprana. 538 ● During the festival, however, the hero underwent a rapid metamorphosis. 769 How the festival gave rise to this metamorphosis is as yet not at all clear. Some of these points, and the consequences of the metamorphosis, may be discussed here.

The most astounding event was the revelation as Wau Rauh. Pĕdanda Nirartha or Wau Rauh, 'The Recently Arrived', is a well-known figure on Bali. He may be considered the embodiment of the influence of Majapahit.[24] His name is traditionally connected with Pulaki,[25] and the thought of identification will no doubt have arisen because Jayaprana tarried in the Pulaki area. The more so, as for the *desa* people (and not only those who are readers of *lontars*) both Wau Rauh and Pulaki would seem to be living traditions. Especially since the First World War, Pulaki, so it is said, has repeatedly attested to his existence, quite independently of the Jayaprana tradition. For this reason a number of themes which are in circulation are not to be found in the *lontars*. There is also the statement of the *balian* of Bakung mentioned earlier.

The Jayaprana tale also had possibilities for a quite different development which found its expression in Kaliangĕt. Here was a loyal subject who was treacherously murdered by his prince, moreover out of jealousy, and after he had rendered faithful service.[26] The names of the hero and his wife are very fitting: Jayaprana can be rendered as 'The Victorious Soul' and Layon Sari as 'The Holy Dead One'.

At a time when the memory of the slain and missing *pĕmudas* was still very much alive, when caring for the bodies of those who fell in the resistance struggle was not without danger, and when it had already penetrated deeply into the popular consciousness that

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



538 769 the revolution must be directed not only against foreign domination, but also against feudalism, it was easy to find in stories of this purport an element from which nationalism could borrow its weapons and the means to glorify itself.

All the more comic, then, was the *dénouement* when the *dewa agung* conferred his sanction on the whole matter by claiming Jayaprana for himself, as it were. Many a person in northern Bali who had watched with some apprehension the development of Jayaprana into the symbol for those who had fallen in the resistance gave their blessing to the *dewa agung*'s unannounced appearance.

Naturally this interpretation of the figure of Jayaprana by the *dewa agung* brought no unity among the diverse opinions. The fact must be accepted that one's view of Jayaprana is determined by the place that one occupies in Balinese society. Hence different opinions can exist independently of one another.

What, for example, did the *pĕdandas* think when they discovered that the *desa* people were making preparations to cremate their own highly revered forefather, the great and first *pĕdanda* of Bali? The president of the recently established Paruman Para Pandita, or Association of Pĕdandas, had requested the members to consult with him before accepting an invitation from the *desa*. Yet four or five *pĕdandas* openly took part in the ceremonies. Thus there was nothing else for it but to declare that the Ida Batara Sakti Wau Rauh of Kaliangĕt is a different person from the *pĕdanda* Nirartha of Gelgel.

184 769 There is a group of Balinese who find this whole cult an expression of a religious form no longer appropriate in these times. They see in it above all the many features of the authentic village religion, which is still so powerful that every protest against it is nipped in the bud. The village mentality and the abundantly practised trance also trouble them. Moreover, the village scoffs at all data from literature and propagates its own findings of the moment with a fanatical belief, not knowing itself what the final result of it all will be.

There is another group, undoubtedly by far the largest one, whose members, without giving any further critical thought to

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



*Postscript*

Something more can be reported regarding the new *batara* on 538
the basis of a booklet entitled *Riwajat Djajaprana*,[30] which went into a second edition as soon as in 1954. This booklet contains the Balinese poem, together with a translation in Indonesian. The author, I Kĕtut Puthra, has preceded the poem by three introductory pieces. The first of these is a verse in which Jayaprana is glorified as "a son of Indonesia, a noble hero, ... symbolic of the State for all *pĕmudas*". In the second Jayaprana is compared to such favorite traditional wayang figures as Rama and the five Pandawas, who came to earth to combat the forces of evil. In the same way Jayaprana was sent by Sang Hyang Widiwasa to bring about the fall of the evil dynasty of Kaliangĕt (in the poem the death of the hero gives rise to the amok-running and suicide of the ruler, and thus to the fall of the *puri*). The third piece is a moralistic one: behold the man's sincerity and loyalty, the woman's marital fidelity amidst many enticements, and (an anti-feudal touch) the ruler's baseness. The booklet confirms once more the fact that in the case of Jayaprana "highly divergent tendencies were at work".

The poem and its translation are followed by a description of the cremation festival in 1949. And in closing the author reports that a temple has been founded for the new pair of deities, where Jayaprana and Layon Sari are worshipped as Batara Jayakusuma and Batara Pulasari. The temple's anniversary or *odalan* falls on Thursday-Paing of the week of Pĕrangbakat, and on 26 October, 1950, was celebrated for the first time, on an elaborate scale. Two offering columns in front of the *bataras*' three-roofed *meru* are consecrated to the base-hearted ruler who ordered the murder and to the villain who performed it; in a sort of poetic justice both of them must now serve "as special guardians of the two deified dead".

J.L.S.

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



ary cleansing. There is also a small gate to the *tĭba* from the pig-
pen, and the omnivorous pigs serve to keep the area cleaned up.

At various places in the walls of the buildings there are *bĕlongs* or offering niches, for example in the *paon*, the *bale siyadandan*, the *gĕdong*, and the *bale buga*, which last niche is known as *bĕlong alingaling*.[3] In the walls on the street side there are several blind windows.

This description of a Tĕngananese compound holds true for most of the compounds in the village, though there are some of slightly larger dimensions. The uniform architecture gives the village a well-groomed appearance, and that impression is reinforced by the fact that the attractive assembly halls and other public buildings are also laid out in one line.

A disproportionally large *desa* territory belongs to this residential village of approximately thirty acres. There is a legend regarding the origin of the *desa* territory that is current in various versions.[4] Long, long ago the ruler of Bedahulu had a favourite horse, pitch black with a white tail, that was also much in the favour of the ruler's groom (*i pĕkatik*). Once, in the heat of battle, the ruler lost his horse. He sent his subjects out to seek the animal: he sent the *pandes mas*, the goldsmiths, to the northwest, where they established themselves as the Bratanese, and the *pandes wĕsi*, the blacksmiths, to the east. Led by the *pĕkatik*, Onche Sĕraya, the *pandes wĕsi* finally came to Chandi Dasa, where the *pĕkatik* found the horse dead in the forest. He immediately informed the ruler, who asked, "Tell me, groom, do you still cherish love for my horse?" To which the *pĕkatik* answered humbly, "Hail, exalted ruler of the world; if you have no objections, I pray you to allow me to keep vigil over the body of the horse in the forest; when I die, let it be beside the horse, for my love for it has not diminished." The ruler of Bedahulu answered, "This is your considered request; so be it. But then you must accept a favour from me. See how far you can trace the smell of the body in the neighbourhood; as far as it reaches, so far shall the territory extend which I grant you as a sign of my gratitude for the love you bear my horse."[4] And the

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



*pĕkatik* requested the ruler's permission to return to the corpse. As soon as he arrived he chopped the animal into pieces and carried them in various directions, so that the smell of the corpse spread over a larger area. The territory he acquired in this way comprised the present village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. On the spot where Onche Sĕraya found the body, there still stands the *pura batu manggar*, nearby Chandi Dasa in the south. In the west, where he took the thighs, is the *pura pĕpuhon;* in the north, where the belly was placed, is the *pura batu kĕbĕn;* and in the east, where he left the entrails, is the *pura tai kik*. Then there are the *pura rambut pule* in the northeast, the *pura pĕnimbalan* in the southeast, and the *pura kaki dukun* in the centre, where Onche Sĕraya deposited the horse's head, forelegs, and scrotum respectively. At all these places there are peculiarly shaped stones which are revered as parts of the horse. All Tĕngananese coming from the *pasar* at Sibĕtan or Bĕbandĕm place an offering on the *kaki dukun*. The worshipping of stones is customary throughout Bali, but particularly in Karangasĕm. Everywhere one comes across stones of somewhat unusual shapes or extraordinary dimensions that have been set up, and where offerings are made. In the *pura pĕtung* there are nothing but large stones on the offering platforms.[5]

In another version of the legend the *pĕkatik* carried a piece of the horse's body in his bamboo walking stick as he went around with the official who had been charged by the ruler to check how far the smell of the corpse could be detected. A third version makes the horse the property of the well-known priest Wau Rauh.[6]

The *desa* territory has a small stretch of beach, the Pasi Chandi Dasa, named after the Hindu Chandi Dasa in the territory of the *desa* of Bungaya, where there is a statue of Hariti.[7] In earlier times the village is said to have been located on this beach and to have borne the name of Panĕgĕs, according to some people called after the village of Tĕgĕs, between Pĕliatan and Bedahulu in Gianyar, whence the Tĕngananese are said to hail. But the dwellings were constantly being destroyed by the sea, so the people moved further inland – *ngĕtĕngahang* this is called, which gave rise to the name

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7



361 311 538 Tĕnganan:[1] The village came to be called Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan because of the skill of the village women in making *gĕringsing* fabrics. The village boundaries are described in detail in the *desa* constitution.

621 133 The topography is extremely rough. The footpaths are very hard to traverse especially in the rainy season, and several expeditions through the *desa* territory and to other villages in the neighbourhood helped me understand why the region of Karangasĕm was earlier described by the military patrols as *kurang asĕm*, 'short of breath'. Running through the western part of the village territory from north to south is the Panděk River, and in the eastern part the Buhu River streams through a fine complex of *sawahs*. There are two other settlements in the *desa* territory. Kĕstala, Wra Kĕstala, or Ora Kĕstala in the north is a hamlet of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan founded owing to special circumstances. Gumung, a few miles to the north of Tĕnganan, is a daughter *desa* of the village of Bungaya. Both settlements have their own territory, the first as a *banjar*, and the second as a *desa*.

621 [162] In 1926 the total population of the village proper of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan was 603, of which 415 could be considered as full-fledged citizens. The others were either people born elsewhere or people who had transgressed village customs in one way or another. Anyone used to the sturdy figure of Balinese farmers is struck by the none-too-healthy appearance of these valley inhabitants. This is probably to be attributed in part to the fact that the closed-in location of the village leads to a sultry temperature during the day. On the other hand the village has the advantage of significantly longer cool periods, since the sun rises later over the eastern hills and disappears earlier behind those to the west than is the case in the open plains, and moreover the absence of stagnant water, even in the remotest corners of the village, has [164] the result that there are very few mosquitoes, and so no malaria. Other possible causes for the less vigorous appearance of the people are the idle way of life of the actual core of the population and the high degree of inbreeding. The members of the village

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



It is generally recognized that the Brahmanas are higher than the Satrias, but a great undercurrent of disagreement and animosity has always existed between them on this account. The Satrias resented having to pay homage to the Brahmanas, and the legends and historical records are full of instances of the feud created by their struggle for caste supremacy. Kings were deposed by adventurers supported by Brahmanas; high priests cursed rulers and drove them to commit suicide, and often they had to flee and hide to protect their daughters from arrogant princes who wished to take them as wives, thus affronting their superior caste pride. Once in a *djauk* performance I saw a typical story enacted: The Radja of Bali, the Dewa Agung of Klungkung, wanted to prove that Brahmanas were fakers when they claimed supernatural powers. He placed a duck in a well and sent for the highest priest in the country so that he could prove his magic power by guessing what was in the well. The priest said that it was a great serpent, a *naga*. The king laughed in his face and uncovered the well; a huge *naga*, fire streaming from its nostrils, shot out and coiled around the king's body and would have crushed him to death if the priest had not killed the *naga* with a miraculous arrow. From then on, the princes did not dare to question the supremacy of the Brahmanas. This legend is still commemorated at the cremation of Satrias, when the Brahmanic priest shoots arrows at the *naga banda*, the serpent that conveys the soul to heaven. (See page 387.)

But the dispute still goes unsettled, with the priest's sphere of influence restricted now to purely religious duties. Brahmanas are devoid of administrative powers, but serve as judges in the courts; they could not be sentenced to death and did not pay taxes to the princes, but instead had to pray for the well-being of the land. Their own regulations forbid them from attending cockfights or making money in commerce. They are exalted and aloof, but ordinary people secretly laugh at them; there is a popular story, *Pan Bunkling*, in which the hero is constantly poking fun at Brahmanas and their philosophy. The Brahmanas can be

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



585 appear rich and extravagant, there is considerably greater ceremony than at the weddings of the common people. Often formal [202] invitations written on palm-leaves are sent to near relatives, in which is stated the nature of the wedding present that they should bring along – the one I saw asked for four ducks – thus keeping the present tactfully within the means of the donor and avoiding repetitions. In this manner the relatives co-operate in meeting the expenses, for among such families there are always innumerable guests of rank to be lavishly entertained with banquet food and theatricals. Early in the morning the house of our aristocratic friend in Pemetjutan began to fill with impressive noblemen dressed in their best and wearing jewelled krisses, who arrived with retinues of women and attendants bearing presents. [304] The teeth of the bride and groom had not yet been filed and the greater part of the morning was spent in the hair-raising task, while the *wayang* music played in a corner of the crowded courtyard, mingling with the crashing of the cymbals and gongs of the orchestra that played out on the street. The male guests sat in the places of honour drinking coffee, eating pastry, and chewing [538] betel-nut, listening casually to two professional story-tellers that sat in the middle of the court reciting the erotic passages of the great literary classic, the *Ardjuna Wiwaha*, also a rule at weddings, one man chanting verses in musical *kawi* language, while the other translated with rich and expressive tones into guttural everyday Balinese. The women wandered about among offerings and presents, in and out of the *metén* where the bride was being dressed, while the boy's father played host, seeing that everybody was taken care of, and directing the assistants who distributed trays of food and poured drinks.

After the teeth-filing was over, the bride and groom simulated domestic activities: she washed a handful of rice and cooked it in a clay pot over a small fire; the groom cut a branch of *twí*, the sort of acacia leaves used as a vegetable, which they cooked together in another pot. Next they were led to a platform erected in the courtyard, a bed with mattress and pillows in which was

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



533 either approves or rejects the proposal, and there are no outbursts of artistic temperament.

The Balinese do not write down their music. I asked if it was not difficult to memorize such long and intricate compositions and was told that "when the piece has been rehearsed long

[516]

[826] enough, so that it has once entered into a man's liver, he plays it without thinking."

538 628 Often the group was visited by the leaders of famous orchestras from other villages who were invited as guests of the community to teach new compositions. The leaders of the gong Ringdikit from North Bali came to Belaluan to exchange pieces: while [184] they taught the dynamic and revolutionary style of the North, they learned the classical pieces of the South. The musicians of Belaluan, on the other hand, went to other villages to break in new organizations and were always lavishly entertained. Once in [545] our village we witnessed a contest between two famous gongs;

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



so much alike are their movements, their necks snap from side to side in such perfect accord, synchronized in double time to the flashes of their eyes. The most absolute discipline controls their sharp, accurate movements. Each motion follows the last in perfect rhythmic sequence, technical perfection transformed into beauty and style. At times the music becomes playful and delicate; the two girls come together, bringing their faces close to each other and delicately "rubbing noses" (*ngarás*), following this by a flutter of the shoulders, a thrill of pleasure. This represents a love scene, a kiss, done to a special musical theme (*pengipuk*).

After a pause the orchestra plays the *Lasem* theme and the actual play begins. The story is based on an episode from the *Malat*, the Balinese *Thousand and One Nights*, in which Princess Rangkesari is stolen by the arrogant King Lasem, her despised suitor, while he is waging war against her father. Rangkesari spurns Lasem's advances even after he promises to give up the war if she will yield to him. He threatens to kill her father, but still she will not submit. Enraged, the king goes to carry out his threat, but during the battle that ensues, a blackbird flies in front of him, a bad omen, and Lasem is killed.

The dancers enact the various characters of the story that everyone in the audience knows by heart. The acting of the *legong* is abstract pantomime with such stylized action and economy of gesture that it becomes merely a danced interpretation of the literary text, which is recited by a story-teller, who chants the episodes and dialogues while the dance is in progress.

The dancer who plays Lasem enters, followed by Rangkesari (the two *legongs*). Lasem, tugging at her skirt, tries to force the princess, but she strikes him with her fan. This is repeated until Lasem grows impatient and, after a struggle, retires enraged. The princess is left alone, wiping her tears with the edge of her apron and slapping her thigh with a fan, a gesture of grief. As the girl kneels, Lasem reappears, angry and defiant, on his way to continue the war against Rangkesari's father; the closed fan

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



kebiyar it is necessary to have what the Balinese call a "good" face, expressive and mobile, and to possess elegance, intensity and personal magnetism, besides highly finished technical training. Mario had great musical knowledge and one of his specialties was to play the *trompong* while he danced, twirling the sticks in his fingers and moving with great agility along the scale of inverted bronze bowls. The *kebiyar* was very popular during Mario's time, especially among the men. It was frequently performed as an interpretation of *kekawin*, epic poems chanted in the archaic language by expert story-tellers, while Mario translated into movement the episodes of the poems with that curious detachment of pure rhythm and abstract gesture so typically Balinese. Good dancers of *kebiyar* are rare today; of Mario's pupils, only one, I Gusti Rake, also of Tabanan, has inherited Mario's intensity and style, and he is becoming as famous as Mario once was.

## THE SHADOW-PLAY

### MYSTICISM AND SLAPSTICK

Perhaps poetry and the drama were born in Bali with the introduction of the great epics of the Hindus, the famous *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. They came by way of Java as propaganda for the ancient Hindus and as part of their religious teachings. The semi-divine protagonists of the poems, the princes Rama and Ardjuna, gods reincarnated to save the world, soon captured the popular imagination with their romantic adventures and their fantastic wars against evil. They not only became the idols, the heroes, models of conduct for the Balinese, but were accepted as the ancestors and ideal of the race.

The early religious teachers of Java rewrote the great Indian works into the local literary language, the Kawi, archaic Javanese, in which nine out of every ten words are Sanskrit. The rich and flowery Kawi is today the classical language of poetry (*kawi* means "poet") used by Balinese intellectuals, who have con-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



tinued to practise it, keeping it as alive as it was in Java during the golden age of Hinduism before it fell into neglect at the advent of Islamism. It was not without reason that Raffles wrote in his *History of Java:* "The ancient mythological poems are preserved in Bali in more correct form than in Java."

The poems are written in stanzas based on the Sanskrit metre (*sloka*), which the Balinese have developed into as many as forty-seven different poetical measures that are particularly well suited to singing. These are given out to the masses by story-tellers who chant the Kawi texts while an interpreter explains them in ordinary Balinese. The people soon learned the Kawi poems by heart, although they do not understand the actual words and chant them purely for the sake of their musical metre. Today even boys of the common classes gather at night for hours to sing in Kawi, though the meaning of the songs may be obscure to them. Musical accompaniments were eventually added to the epic songs, and story-telling developed into a fine art in the form called *kekawin*, in which a large orchestra plays interludes between the episodes and dialogues recited and translated by two story-tellers.

The episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* remain the most important literary works that the Balinese have appropriated for their own literature, and they have influenced the theatre to a great extent. But there are countless other stories, Javanese, native, even Chinese, that make the bulk of the literature of Bali, now being compiled by the Kawi scholars of Bali, Java, and Holland.

Out of an ancient shamanistic performance in which the ancestors were brought to this world in the form of shadows to communicate with their descendants, came the *wayang kulit*, the shadow-plays — a performance by marionettes (*wayang*) that cast their shadows on a screen and are manipulated by a mystic story-teller, the *dalang*. In olden times the *wayang* may have represented the forefathers and the *dalang* the priest, but in all probability the Hindu teachers of early times took advan-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



miraculous feats of agility and strength, as, for instance, his famous leap across the ocean to Rawana's island to discover where Sita is held. When Hanuman is sent to bring healing herbs from the forest he is unable to recognize the magic plants and, angered, tears out the entire mountain top and brings it back with him.

Or the episode represented may come from the *Mahabharata*. Then the plot deals with the feud between two rival princely houses: the Pandawas, five brothers who are models of virtue (the mystic Yudistra, Bhima, uncouth warrior and powerful magician, the romantic lover Ardjuna, and Nakula and Sahadewa), against their hundred cousins, the jealous and treacherous Korawas, headed by the unprincipled Duryodana. The Korawas, through trickery and intrigue, succeeded in ousting the Pandawas from their kingdom and banishing them into the forest for twelve years. During their exile the princes acquire the magic strength to wage the Great War, the Barata Yudda, against the evil Korawas, who are finally exterminated after a battle so fierce that it makes "the rivers stand still, the sun pale, and the mountains tremble."

The symbolical struggle between absolute virtue and absolute evil is the backbone and the characteristic of the Hinduistic literature of Bali. Each character is sharply defined; he is either a fiend or a hero. But the figures of Hindu origin have always remained aloof and esoteric to the Balinese, who have provided the *wayang* with more interesting and amusing characters of their own.

These are the *parekan*, the servants or attendants of the principals. On the side of truth and righteousness are Twalén and his son Merdah, while Délam and Sangut are the retainers of the "left," the villains. Twalén is a ponderous black monster with a pot-belly, a great wit, and a magic air about him. He is the really intelligent character of the *wayang*, who by his resourcefulness and knowledge of the occult saves every situation and makes the hero appear as the conqueror of every combat.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7



krisses, awkwardly conscious of being admired, marching in triple file to the beat of gongs and drums amidst bursting firecrackers. 764

The procession goes to the priest's house, where he waits to consecrate the effigies through a performance of *maweda*, the spoken formula emphasized by gestures of the hands. The priest recites his formulas, flings flowers, and sprinkles holy water towards the effigies, which are reverently held in front of him by the kneeling girls. After the ceremony the procession returns home, stopping along the way in the temple of the family's origin to offer a final prayer. At the house, towards dusk, the *baris* dancers perform war dances to cast a protecting net of magic vibrations, and shows are given to entertain the guests. Relatives, guests, and populace spend the night divided between watching an all-night shadow-play and listening to public readings of the Balinese classic *Bhima Swarga*, the tale of the fantastic adventures of Bhima on his visit to Hades. Tradition prescribes that this should be read aloud from beginning to end on the eve of cremation. In dark corners people huddle to steal naps. Outside, the orchestras, among them the *gambang*, only heard at cremations, boom and hum throughout the night. [545] [538]

## THE CREMATION

The great towers in which the corpses are carried to the cremation ground and the animal-shaped coffins in which they will be burned, the two most spectacular factors in a cremation, have waited ready for days in some corner of the village, covered with screens of woven palm-leaf.

The cremation tower is a high structure solidly built of wood and bamboo, bound together with rattan and covered with coloured paper ornaments and cotton-wool dyed in bright colours, and glittering with tinsel and small mirrors. Shaped like the temple gates and the sun altars, the tower represents again the Balinese conception of the cosmos: a wide base, often in the shape of a turtle with two serpents entwined around its body, the symbol of the foundation upon which the world rests, sup- 764 772

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7



fication, a larger *mĕcharu* is given for *anak kĕmbar*, with a dog, a pig, a duck and five chickens as offerings, and a Sĕngguhu officiates with the Padandă. For *anak bunching* only five chickens are offered, and the Pĕmangku assists the Padandă. In neither case do they have the *mĕlis*. 845* [782]

Likewise the caste distinctions are more strict in Kĕtèwèl, for only Brahmans and Rajă Satrya's have the right to have twins, either *kĕmbar* or *bunching*, and all the smaller nobility together with the Jabă are *salah*. The people know, of course, that their taboo on *anak kĕmbar* differs from the custom of the surrounding villages. They say it is because in Kĕtèwèl they have gods which are twins and the others have not. The idea that the figures are representations of ancient kings is unknown to them. But every village may have its own gods in its temples, which are worshipped by the people of that village, and the people of other villages have nothing to do with them. 845* 564

## Part IV
## What the Lontars say.

One of the Balinese lontars, called Bhagawan Garga, has in part to do with twins. A copy of this lontar was in the possession of a Padandă Siwă in Bangli, another in Gianyar, and a third belonged to the Padandă Bodă of Pĕliatan. All three priests referred to this lontar when questioned about *manak salah* or *kĕmbar bunching*. The story of the one from Bangli may roughly be summarized as follows: 845* 538

This is the story of people with boy and girl twins. 845* 539 173

The Rajă of Bali goes to meet the holy man, Idă Bagawan Lindu Tawang, in Lĕmah Rĕkă (Lĕmah Tulis). The holy man receives him at his meditation place. The Rajă takes a humble place on the lower level (*pemarĕkan*), but when he has introduced himself as a pupil of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man welcomes him and leads him inside the palace. Because the Prince has followed the teachings of Bagawan Sunyă Murti Bali, the holy man gives him his daughter in marriage.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7



and girl twins. He prayed and prayed, he studied and meditated to become holy, he prayed at the Gunung Agung, day and night he fasted and did not drink nor sleep, for he was in real ascesis. He concentrated in the *lumbung* (sanggar) on the Gunung Agung (Bĕsakih) on the day of full moon in the tenth month, together with the Bujanggă and Siwă (Pedanda's Bodă and Siwă), as witnesses. This was the behavior of the Rajă, meditation on the *lumbung*, in order that the rule of the Rajă's of Bali should be strong and long-lasting.

It will be seen that this "story" is far from clear, and Balinese scholars themselves do not seem to understand it. The various names given to the characters cannot be definitely identified with those to whom they refer. And other obscurities of language are interpreted according to the prejudice of the reader. For instance, in the passage "if there are people in the country of Bali who affront the Rajă by having twins *bunching*" the word *wong*, meaning simply people, is taken by the authority from Bangli to mean "people of Sudră or Wésyă caste". Another would interpret it to mean only Sudră's, another all people except the Rajă himself and his priests, as stated later on in the passage. But this again is not clear, for the phrase *Sang Bujanggă Brahmană* is extremely obscure and open to many interpretations. *Bujanggă* is a title claimed not only by Siwă and Bodă Padandă's but by Sĕngguhu's as well. Sĕngguhu's would here claim that the word Bujanggă refers to them, and the word Brahmană does not modify it, that is, giving immunity from *manak salah* to Sĕngguhu's *and* to Brahmans. When referring to the celebration of the ceremonies, the phrase *Bujanggă Siwă* was interpreted Sĕngguhu and Padandă Siwă — when referring to the meditations of the Rajă, Sang Bujanggă Siwă was interpreted Padandă Bodă and Padandă Siwă. I merely call attention to these discrepancies so that the reader may take them into account. It will be noted that the name of the king who was a twin is not disclosed.

The lontar Bhagawăn Garga has a further passage on twins:

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7



ment has a lively, if haphazard, character, brought about by the enthusiasm of the various individuals working together virtually without a leader. One has the impression that it is fear of angering his fellows which prevents the Balinese from assuming a dominant attitude towards persons outside of his familiar group.

When anger does appear, it usually follows the pattern of the Malay "running amok," also recognized in Bali. The literature is filled with episodes in which a man, even a prince or Radja, who is overcome with grief or thwarted in his desires, "becomes confused in his mind, and retires to his sleeping-apartment, where he lies for many days and many nights, refusing both food and drink." This brooding state is the first stage in the pattern, when the man remains alone, nursing his grievances, until he has worked himself into a trance-like state, and he will have the strength to rush out and commit deeds of violence. Tales of warriors describe the stirring up of anger before going into combat; and all war dances have brooding passages interspersed between the gestures and expressions of fierce and terrifying advance. Bravery in itself is not highly valued. It is considered more natural for a man to be under the sway of fear than of anger. A man shows no embarrassment over his fear—he says quite simply "I do not dare," whether the project in question is a midnight visit to the graveyard, or climbing a coconut tree on a day of the astrological calendar when it is forbidden. The things which a man will not dare to do are those which the experience of his forbears have shown to be unwise, and to behave with intrepidity without good reason would be to court disaster, not only for himself but perhaps for the whole community.

## Deviants

We have seen that in such a social scheme each individual has his place, and he has only to do what is expected of him to fit with nicety into the life of the group. But there are occasions when an individual finds it impossible to conform, and at these times disturbance and maladjustment appear. Certain temperaments, for instance, are not amenable to the national habit of submissive obedience. Women with fiery dispositions may run away from their husbands, taking shelter with their own families, and refusing to return, or departing with a lover.[11] A small boy of eight told the following story of his

[11] For cases of runaway wives see the author's "Study of a Balinese Family," *American Anthropologist*, 1936, XXXVIII, No. 1 (in press).

[180 cont.]

S 538 tjarita pantun were sung by the tukang pantun, the Sundanese bard, to the accompaniment of an angklung. Originally, they were preserved as oral traditions, and only recently have people begun to record them in writing.

S 773 779 538 Besides the tjarita pantun, which thus are true folk-literature, there are the so-called Dongèng, stories and fables, usually written in poetry, rarely in prose. Furthermore, there are the religious and moral writings, among them the Punatir istri, lessons for women. In this work, the prophet, who is speaking, is introduced, and he gives instructions to his daughter, Fatimah, about the duties she has to perform for God and her husband. This writing, too, is in meter.

The remaining religious literature is in prose. [181] It includes three works on the religious law of Islam and on the doctrine concerning God. Of course, they are of Arabic origin, translated from either Malay or Javanese.

S 538 Encouraged by the Government, the head panghulu of Limbangan in the Preanger Residencies, Raden Hadji Moehammad Moesa, has recently written good prose works in particular.

S 212 With respect to script, it should be noted that the Sundanese use the Malay-Arabic for religious works, and Javanese is used for secular works.

B ●538 The literature of the Balinese is very rich and includes four kinds.

1. Kakawin, or poems written in the Kawi language, consisting mainly of adaptations of the Mahabharata and Ramayana, and the Ardjoenå Wiwåhå, the Brata Joeda, etc. are also found here.

B [787] 2. Mantra, magical formulas, written partly in prose, partly in verse, the language of which is sometimes pure Kawi, but then again Kawi mixed with Balinese.

3. Patjå pabiring or patjå pariring (in Kawi Pala wakja), prose works written in Javanese or Kawi. Among them are:

[181 cont.]

538 [779] a. Tutur or satwa, dogmatic writings of moral or mystical purport.

b. Agama or codes of law, of which there are seven in [671] Buleleng alone: Adigama, Dewagama, Purwa digama, Dewadanda, etc.

[755 757] c. Husada or Huwisada and Wisada, medical works containing recipes for charms besides the summary of actually useful prescriptions.

d. Historical works called Babad by Friedrich, such as the [173] Usana bali, the Usana Djawa, etc., and genealogical registers.

4. Kidung, poems in more recent meter, which are divided into:

a. Kidung in the ordinary sense, originally Javanese poems in Kawi miring which were taken to Bali and preserved there unaltered or with Balinese names, words, and word formations.

[182]

b. Gaguritan. These are either Balinese translations or adaptations of originally Javanese or Malayan stories, or original Balinese poems. It can thus be seen that only the gaguritan is purely national literature, although the language is not always pure and is often interlarded with Javanese poetic words (1).

1: Friedrich, "Voorloopig verslag omtrent het eiland Bali [Preliminary report on the island Bali]" Verh. Bat. Gen. v. K. en W., Vol. XXII, pp. 21 ff. Friedrich, Tijdschrift v. Nederl. Indië, Vol. 3, pp. 245 ff.